WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era A NEW COMPROMISE PROPOSED BY A SOUTH-ERNER.

Plan for ameliorating and finally abolishing Slavery, accompanied with the Removal of

the Colored Race to the Tropics. MR. EDITOR: Bigotry and intolerance are not confined to the champions of slavery, as I have had occasion to remark in my intercourse with Northern Abolitionists, and from inspection of some of their newspapers and other publications. Assuming that slavery is, under all eircumstances, wrong and impolitie, and that that which is wrong cannot be rectified too soon, they will listen to no proposition which falls short of immediate and unconditional emancipation. This resolution was arrived at by Garrison and others, some twenty-five years ago; and although they have urged it under whip and spur from that day to this, slavery still stands entrenched in the Constitution, enforced by a vigorous Fugitive Slave Law, and supported by the two great political parties of the country, who emulate each other in devotion to "the peculiar insti-

tution," as you sneeringly call it.

Now, Mr. Editor, I am a Southern man, but am not a champion of slavery. I wish to see the country rid of it as soon as practicable; but knowing that immediate emancipation is out of the question, whether accompanied by colonization or not, I am willing to do the next best ti ing in my power. I am willing to see steps taken preparatory to emancipation. The abolition of slavery cannot take place peace-ably until a change is effected in the minds of the Southern people; and I maintain that the directest way to bring about such a change, is to begin by lopping off the grosser features

of the system, one at a time.

Whenever Southern men have attempted to meet the arguments of Abolitionists, they either deny the existence of such enormities as the domestic slave trade produces, as the sepa ration of families, and the purchase of young females by the licentious, for the gratification of their passions, or insist that they are not essential parts of the system. In like manner. the denial of education to slaves is held to be a mere temporary regulation, and is no essential part of slavery. Dr. Fuller, in his argument with Dr. Wayland, lays it down that slavery is simply enforced labor-labor without other wages than food and clothing-but implying the obligation on the master of furnishng moral and religious instruction to the slave, with education sufficient at least to read the Bible. The separation of families, he holds to be highly criminal. Mr. Badger, the able Senator from my own State, I think would concide in this view of the subject; and "A Carolinian," who last winter attempted a reply to Uacle Tom's Cahin, advanced similar deas. Even Elwood Fisher, and the Cotton Plant, and Judge O'Neal, have suggested meliorations of slavery.

Let the institution of slavery, then, be strip-

ped of these more odious features, which its recognised advocates cannot defend. Let the marriage relation be made legal, and binding upon master and slaves, under all circumstances If the master owns both parties, pro hibit him from selling them separately. If they are owned by different persons, forbid their removal to a greater distance than they are from each other; and, what is equally important, guaranty to the slaves of full age the right of contracting alliances upon the master's plantation, or within a stipulated distance—five or seven miles. But in all cases the law should encourage the bringing of families together by purchase and sale, and continue to masters the utmost latitude of removal, whether within the State or beyond its limits, accompanied always with the condition that the families are to be inviolably held together. Let all laws prohibiting education be repealed, and encouragement given to mental and moral improvement by the establishment of Sunday sch and the worship of God among them; lastly, let them be allowed to acquire and hold property, with the option of self-emancipation archase, at a price to be fixed by disinterested persons. The obvious objection to this arrangement might be got rid of by making removal beyond the State a condition of emansipation. I admit it would be a hard condition; but in most of the Southern States, at present, the privilege would not be conceded The separation of the younger children from

their parents should be prohibited in like

ed throughout the Southern States, and faithfully acted on, they would go far to soften Northern and European prejudices, and to make slavery the "patriarchal institution" which its friends would have the world be-heve it. The greatest objection which now exsts to the extension of slavery South would beremoved; and there are many good reasons, which would operate on the minds of even Abolitionists, in favor of it. The formation of new slave States out of any territory that may be honorably acquired from Mexico, or the annexation of Cuba, under such circumstances, would be attended with none of the enormities which are now apprehended by every humane and thoughtful mind, as the necessar result of so great an increase of the domestislave trade. The removal of the slaves in families, without a dissolution of those endearing ties of kindred which now take place would be a positive blessing to thm. The tropical regions of this Continent seem to set apart by Nature and destiny for the abode of the negro race; and the extension of slavery, in the mild and modified form which I have suggested would hasten their progress to

The advance of slavery Southwest has not yet caused it to recede on the Northern border; but the day is evidently at hand, when this consequence will manifest itself. In fact. it is to be seen now in the constantly diminish. ing number of slaves in Delaware, Maryland, and at one time in Virginia, while the Carolinas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, have evidently arrived at or near the culminating point, from whence will date the gradual, perians rapid, recession of the slave population The constantly increasing pressure of a Northern free population, with new and more fertile or congenial regions in the South, which new acquisitions may open, would certainly increase the deportation of slaves. By the pressure of a Northern population, I mean merely to indi-cate the growing tide of emigration from that quarter to the South, which will supply the place of slave labor in the border States, or enable the planters, who wish to emigrate turther South, to seil their lands.

The acquisition of new slave territory would therefore change, rather than extend, the area of slavery; and its political influence would not be permanently, if at all, increased.

Bigotry, intolerance, and hostility to free discussion, always exist in exact proportion to the wrongs or errors which they would exclude from the scrutiny of the world; and in proportion as the wrongs or errors are abated or removed, will the minds of those who uphold and cherish them be liberalized and opened to the reception of truth. The history of the world, in Church and State, affords abundant illustration of this truth; and when the South shall consent to lop off the grossest features of the "peculiar institution," s) as to bring it within the pale of Christian charity, there can be no doubt that it will surrender much of its present bitter exclusiveness, and give freer scope to the liberty of the press and of speech. The entering wedge to wise and temperate discussion will have been inserted. which will result, in another generation, in the emancipation of the colored race, under circumstances highly favorable to their pro-

This process of changing the area of slavery, by removing it from Virginia, Kentucky, and in fact from all the temperate upland regions of the South, to the borders of the Guif to This process of changing the area of slavery, by removing it from Virginia, Kentucky, and in fact from All the temperate updated representation of them may not be improper, of the South, to the borders of the Gill it to Mexico, and the West India island, seem to have evided all but free white her ham of Providence for bringing the colored people together in the "seem" of the was represented by the dominant race. The number of whites who will be comparatively small, and, as a consequence, will have none conveyence, will have none colored people together in the seem in more numbers regions. This is also the seem in more numbers regions. The number of white who will be comparatively small, and, as a consequence, will have none of the regular army. Even ident to any one who is acquainfied with the state of things in the British West Indias, or at a muster field, (17) Dirig the Revolutionary for the seem in more numbers regions. This is a soldiers in the regular army. Even ident to any one who is acquainfied with the state of things in the British West Indias, or at a muster field, (17) Dirig the fevolutionary war, many of which have been cold the passes and the passes and the passes and the passes of the seem in more numbers of white who will also will be comparatively small, and as a consequence, will have none of white who will be comparatively small, and, as a consequence, will have none of the conventions. All the temperature of the passes are sween to reposit the seem in more numbers of white who will be comparatively small, and, as a consequence, will have none of the conventions. All the temperature of the seem in more numbers of colored to any one who is acquainfied with the state of things in the British West Indias, or at a muster single form a sufforcation of the decision will show, they have removed the content of the decision will show, they have removed the content of the decision will show, they have removed to compare where we proceed to the third the state of things the providence of which are the

fallible proof of the docility of the negro, and that emancipation is not attended with any of the dangers, or even unpleasant consequences, which the Southern people apprehend. error, in this particular, arises from ignorance of the real cause of the St. Domingo massacre; which was not the liberation of the slaves, but the base and criminal attempt to re-enslave them. The bitterness of the prejudice against the negro in the United States arises from putting freemen on a level with slaves in their every-day occupations; but the class of planters are removed by wealth and intelligence beyond the reach of this contact and its embittering influences; and emancipa-tion would still leave them in the condition of a landed aristocracy, who are never placed in social contact with peasantry, whether white social contact with peasantry, whether white or black. Emancipation, therefore, would, in the tropical regions, be retarded by none of

selves in Virginia.

The extension of slavery into Mexico, and the annexation of Cuba, under these circumstances, would be attended by one consequence scarcely less important than emancipation itself. I allude to the introduction of Protestantism into those dark and gloomy regions of Catholic superstition, ignorance, and bigotry. The hierarchy would be at once overthrown, and the way opened to that freedom ssion which must always be fatal to error. This view of the case should have great weight with the friends of freedom; and the planting of the English language and lit-erature in those countries is another circum-

the social impediments which present them-

stance of great importance.

Humanity has everything to gain, and freedom nothing to lose, by the extension of Slavery, modified as I have suggested. Northern and Southern prejudices would be alike roftened by the adoption of the reforms I have indicated, and each would be in a better temper to judge dispassionately and wisely on

I respectfully commend the proposition politicians, many of whom would gladly keep a conscience, if they could afford it. If acted on, they might stand on national platforms without trampling the dearest rights and the tenderest ties of humanity under their feet. I have little doubt that the whole North will assent to the extension of slavery, reformed and humanized as I have proposed, and as make a short inquiry into the origin and found many of the best men of the South have already suggested. It therefore rests with the previous to its fatal introduction into this. Southern people to determine whether they will accept of new acquisitions of territory on no other conditions than those which are dictated by humanity - on conditions which would strip the domestic slave trade of those odious features which have caused the foreign trade to be branded as piracy.

The modifications I have proposed would not or by the civil law, which happens when a free in the least destroy the efficiency of slave labor, or injure the value of slaves; and it seems difficult to imagine a solid objection to them, looking at the subject from a Southern point of A SOUTHERNER.

For the National Bra. THE SOUTHERN PLATFORM:

MANUAL OF SOUTHERN SENTIMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

Compilation from the Writings of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and others, whose names are consecrated in the affections of the Southern People—the Debates in the Federal and State Conventions which framed and ratified the Constitution of the United States—those which occurred in the first Congresses which sat during the Administration of General Washington—and extracts from the Debate in the Virginia Legislature in 1832 ; with various letters, judicial decisions, &c.

cessity did not subsist, since the victor did not actually kill him, but made him prisoner.

War itself is justifiable only on principles of

self-preservation; and therefore it gives no

other right over prisoners, but merely to disable them from doing harm to us by confining their

persons; much less can it give a right to kill, torture, abuse, plunder, or even to enslave, an

enemy, when the war is over. Since, therefore,

the right of making slaves by captivity de-pends on a supposed right of slaughter, that

said slavery may begin jure civili-when one

meant of contracts to serve or work for an-

other, is very just; but when applied to strict slavery, in the sense of the laws of old Rome

or modern Barbary, is also impossible. Every

sale implies a price—a quid pro quo—an equivalent given to the seller, in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer; but what equivalent

can be given for life and liberty—both of which, in absolute slavery, are held to be in the master's disposal? His property also, the very

price he seems to receive, devolves ipso facto

very principles upon which all sales

founded? Lastly, we are told that, besides these two ways by which slaves are acquired, they may also be hereditary—'servi nas-

'jure natura' by a negative kind of birth-right, slaves also. But this, being built on the two former rights, must fall together with them.

f neither captivity nor the sale of one's self

can, by the law of nature and reason, reduce

Europeans to reduce the natives of Africa to that state. It is a melancholy though well-known fact, that, in order to furnish supplies of

these unhappy people for the purposes of the slave trade, the Europeans have constantly, by the most insidious (I had almost said infernal) arts, fomented a kind of perpetual warfare

they have trepanned and made slaves of the

the fullest extent, can continue to vindicate a

right established upon such a foundation; that a people who have declared "That all men are

by nature equally (29) free and independent," and have made this declaration the first article

in the foundation of their government, should, in defiance of so sacred a truth, recognised by

themselves in so solemn a manner and on so important an occasion, tolerate a practice in-

country will think it time that we should at-

excludes them from the right of suffrage.

(16.) This was the case under the laws of the State; but the act of the second Congress, c. 35, for establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States, seems to have excluded all but free white

tempt to surmount them.

(9.) Lib. 1, Tit. 3, section 2. (10.) Lib. 2, c. 5, section 27. (11.) Lib. 1, c. 20, p. 474. (12.) Lib. 15, c. 1. Lib. I. Tit. S. section 2

the children of acquired slaves are,

his master, the instant he becomes a slave.

BY DANIEL R. GOODLOE, OF NORTH CAROLINA. ON THE STATE OF SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA. from it must fail likewise. But, secondly, it is

Slavery, says a well-informed writer on the abject, has been attended with circumstances so various in different countries as to render it difficult to give a general definition of it. Justinian calls it a constitution of the law of nations, by which one man is made subject to another, contrary to nature, (9.) Grotius describes it to be an obligation to serve another for life, in consideration of diet and other common necessaries, (10.) Dr. Rutherforth, rejecting this definition, informs us that perfect slavery is an obligation to be directed by another in all one's actions, (11.) Baron Montesquieu de fines it to be the establishment of a right which gives one man such a power over another as renders him absolute master over his life and fortune, (12.) These definitions appear not to embrace the subject fully, since they re-spect the condition of the slave in regard to his master only, and not in regard to the State as well as the master. The author last mentioned observes, that the constitution of a State may be free, and the subject not so-the subject free, and not the constitution of the State, (13) Pursuing this idea, instead of attempting a general definition of slavery, I shall, by con-sidering it under a three-fold aspect, endeavor to give a just idea of its nature.

1. When a nation is, from any external cause, deprived of the right of being governed by its own laws, only such a nation may be considered as in a state of *political slavery*. Such is the state of conquered countries, and, generally, of colonies and other dependent governments. Such was the state of United America before the Revolution. In this case the personal rights of the subject may be so the personal rights of the subject may be so far secured by wholesome laws, as that the individual may be esteemed free, whilst the State is subject to a higher power. This subjection of one nation, or people, to the will of another, constitutes the first species of slavery, which, in order to distinguish it from the other two, I have called political, inasmuch as it exists only in respect to the governments, and not to the individuals, of the two countries. Of this it is not our business to speak at present.

2. Civil liberty, according to Judge Black stone, being no other than natural liberty so far restrained by human laws, and no farther, as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage of the public, (14) Whenever that liberty is, by the laws of the State, further restrained than is necessary and expedient for the general advantage, a state of civil slavery companies improducts. This may affect the the general advantage, a state of civil slavery commences immediately. This may affect the whole society, and every description of persons in it, and yet the constitution of the State be perfectly free. And this happens whenever the laws of a State respect the form or energy of the constitutions. of the government more than the happiness of the citizen; as in Venice, where the most oppressive species of civil slavery exists, extending to every individual in the State, from the poorest gondolier to the members of the senate,

and the doge himself. This species of slavery also exists whenever there is an inequality of rights, or privileges, between the subjects or citizens of the same State, except such as necessarily results from the exercise of a public office; for the pre-eminence of one class of men must be founded and erected upon the depression of another: and the measure of exaltation in the former is that of the slavery of the latter. In all governments, however constituted, or by what de-scription soever denominated, wherever the distinction of rank prevails, or is admitted by the constitution, this species of slavery exists.
It existed in every nation and in every government in Europe before the French revolution.
It existed in the American Colonies before they became independent States; and, notwithstanding the maxims of equality which have been adopted in their several constitutions, it exists in most if not all of them at this day, in the persons of our free negroes and mulattees, whose civil incapacities are almost as numerous as the civil rights of our free citizens. A brief enumeration of them may not be improper, before we proceed to the third head.

from the Portuguese settlements, in Africa, to America and the West Indies: but the English nation had not yet engaged in the iniquitous traffic. One William Hawkins, an expert English seaman, having made several voyages to the coast of Guinea, and from thence to Brazil and the West Indies, had acquired ing or carrying any gun, powder, shot, slub, other weapon, offensive or defensive, (19.) Resistance to a white person, in any case, was formerly, and now in any case except p wanton assault on the negro or mulatte, is punishable by whipping (20.) No negro or mulatte can several voyages to the coast of Guinea, and from thence to Brazil and the West Indies, had acquired considerable knowledge of these countries. At his death he left his journals with his son, John Hawkins, in which he describes the lands of America and the West Indies as exceedingly rich and fertile, but utterly neglected for want of hands to improve them. He represented the nations of Europe as unequal to the task in such a scorching climate; but those of Africa as well adapted to undergo the labors requisite. Upon which, John Hawkins immediately formed a design of transporting Africans into the Western World: and having drawn a plan for the execution of it, he laid it before some of his opulent neighbors for encouragement and approbation. To them it appeared promising and advantageous. A subscription was opened, and speedily filled up, by Sir Lionel Duckett, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, and others, who plainly perceived the vast profits that would result from such a trade. Accordingly, three ships were fitted out, and manned by an hundred select sailors, whom Hawkins encouraged to go with him by promises of good treatment and great pay. In the year 1562 he set sail for Africa, and in a few weeks arrived at the country called Sierra Leona, where he began his commerce with the negroes While he trafficked with them, he found the means of giving them a charming description of the country which he was hourd. The unsuspicious Africans be a witness in any prosecution or civil suit in which a white person is a party, (21.) Free negroes, together with slaves, were formerly denied the benefit of clergy in cases where it was allowed to white persons; but they are now upon an equal footing as to the allowance of clergy, (22) Emancipated negroes may be sold to pay the debts of their former master contracted before their emancipation; and they may be hired out to satisfy their taxes, where no sufficient distress can be had. Their chilthe advantages in capital cases which white men are entitled to, except a trial by a jury of their own complexion; and a slave, suing for his freedom, shall have the same privilege. Free negroes residing or employed to labor in any town must be registered. The same thing While he trafficked with them, he found the means of giving them a charming description of the country to which he was bound. The unsuspicious Africans istened to him with apparent joy and satisfaction and seemed remarkably fond of his European trinkets, food, and clothes. He pointed out to them the harrenness of the country, and their naked and wretched condition, and promised, if any of them were weary of their miserable circumstances, and would go along with him, he would carry them to a plentiful land, where they should live hoppy, and receive an abundant recompense for their labors. He told them the country was inhabited by such men as himself and his joyial companions, and asserted them of kind usage and great frientship. In short, the negroes were overcome by his flattering promises, and three hundred stout follows accepted his offer, and consented to embark along with him. Everything being settled on the most amicable terms beis required of such as go at large in any county. The penalty in both cases is a fine upon the person employing or harboring them, and imprisonment of the negro, (23) migration of free negroes or mulattoes to this State is also prohibited; and those who do migrate hither may be sent back to the place from whence they came, (24) Any person, not being a negro, having one-tourth or more negro blood in him, is deemed a mulatto. The law formerly made no other distinction between negroes and mulattoes, whether slaves or freemen. But now the act of 1796, c. 2, which abolishes the punishment of death, except in case of morder, in all cases where any and consented to embark along with him. Every-thing being settled on the most amicable terms be-tween them. Hawkins made preparations for his voy-age. But, in the night before his departure, his ne-groes were attacked by a large body from a different quarter. Hawkins, being alarmed with the shrieks and cries of dying persons, ordered his men to the assistance of his slaves, and, having surrounded the free person may be convicted, creates a most important distinction in their favor-slaves not ing entitled to the same benefit. These incapacities and disabilities are evidently the fruit of the third species of slavery of which it remains to speak; or, rather, they are seions from the same common stock; which is— 3. That condition in which one man is subissailants, carried a number of them on board a risoners of war. The next day he set sail for His aniola with his cargo of human creatures; but paniola with his eargo of human creatures; but, during the passage, he treated the prisoners of war in a different manner from his volunteers. Upon his arrival he disposed of his eargo to great advantage and endeavored to inculcate on the Spaniards who bought the negroes the same distinction to be observed; but they, having purchased all at the same rate, considered them as slaves of the same condition ject to be directed by another in all his ac tions; and this constitutes a state of domestic slavery; to which state all the incapacities and disabilities of civil slavery are incident, with the weight of other numerous calamities supermake a short inquiry into the origin and found-

nd, consequently, treated all alike. Hawkins, having returned to England, soon after ation of domestic slavery in other countries made preparations for a second voyage. In his passage, he fell in with the Minion man-of-war, which accompanied him to the coast of Africa. After his arrival, he began, is formerly, to traffic with the negrous, endeavoring, by persuasions and prospects of reward, to induce them to go along with him. But now they were more reserved and jealous of his designs, and as none of their neighbors had returned Slaves, says Justinian, are either born such or become so, (25.) They are born slaves when they are children of bond-women; and they become slaves either by the law of nations that is, by captivity; for it is the practice of our generals to sell their captives, being ac-customed to preserve and not to destroy them signs; and as none of their neighbors had returned, they were apprehensive he had killed and eat them. The crew of the man of war, observing the Africans backward and suspicious, began to laugh at his gentle and dilatory methods of proceeding, and proposed having immediate recourse to force and compulsion; but Hawkins considered it as cruel and unperson above the age of twenty suffers himself be sold for the sake of sharing the price given for him. The author of the Commentaust, and tried, by persuasions, promises, and threats to prevail on them to desist from a purpose so un-warrantable and barbarous. In vain did he urge his ries on the Laws of England thus combats the reasonableness of all these grounds: (26) "The authority and instructions from the queen; the bold and headstrong sailors would hear of no restraints Drunkenness and avariee are deaf to the voice of humanity. They pursue their violent design, and, after several unsuccessful attacks, in which many of them lost their lives, the cargo was at length completed by barbarity and force. conqueror," says he, "according to the civilians, had a right to the life of his captive; and having spared that, has a right to deal with him as he pleases. But it is an untrue position, when taken generally, that, by the law of nature or nations, a man may kill his enemy. He has a right to kill him only in particular cases—in cases of absolute necessity for self-defence; and it is plain that this absolute ne-

lost their lives, the eargo was at length completed by barbarity and force.

Hence arose that horrid and inhuman practice of dragging Africans into slavery, which has since been so pursued, in defiance of every principle of justice and religion. Had negroes been brought from the flames, to which in some countries they were devoted on their falling prisoners of war, and in others sacrificed at the funeral obsequies of the great and powerful among themselves; in short, had they by this traffic been delivered from tarture or death, European merchants might have some excuss to plend in its vinmerchants might have some excuse to plead in its vin dication. But, according to the common mode is which it has been conducted, we must confess it difficult matter to conceive a single argument in defence. And though policy has given countenan and sanction to the trade, yet every candid and in partial man must confess that it is atrocious and unjustifiable in every light in which it can be viewed, and turns merchants into a band of robbers, and trade into atrocious acts of fraud and violence.—
Historical account of South Carolina and Georgia.
Anonymous. London, printed in 1779. Page 20, 5c.
The number of nerre slaves bartered for in one year (riz., 1768) on the coast of Africa, from Cape Blancto Rio Congo, amounted to 104,000 souls, wheremore than half (viz., 55,000) were shipped on account of British merchants, and 6,300 on the account of British Americans.—The Lew of Retribution, he Granwille Sharpe, Esq., page 147. Note.

(29.) Bill of Rights, Article 1.

TO BE CONTINUED.

MAINE POLITICS. To the Editor of the National Era:

It may be interesting to many of your read ers to know what about political affairs in Maine. And I propose to give a brief sketch of the true position of affairs, as they presen In this case, therefore, the buyer gives nothing, and the seller receives nothing. Of what va-lidity, then, can a sale be, which destroys the themselves to persons familiar with the parties in the State. We have first to say that there are four parties instead of three, as usual. There has been a great deal of bickering in the Democratic party for several years, arising from va-rious causes. One cause has been, that there are many leisure hands in this State that can only be employed as the Government gives them employment; therefore, the "outs" have been enraged against the "ins." These parties are can, by the law of nature and reason, reduce the parent to slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring." Thus, by the most clear, manly, and convincing reasoning does this excellent author refute every claim upon which the practice of slavery is founded, or by which it has been supposed to be justified—at least, in modern times, (27) But were we even to admit that a captive, taken in a just war, might by his conqueror be reduced to a state of slavery, this could not justify the claim of Europeans to reduce the natives of Africa to generally designated by the beautiful cogno-men of "Wild Cats," (owing to their fondness for the possession of the pine timber lands, and possession of the pine timber lands, and possessing a very untamable disposition, and a strong liking to stimulants:) the other, the "Wool Heads," or Hunkers, owing, it is said, to a more favorable sympathy for humanity, (it, however, is not discernible,) and an invet-

erate love for office.

Since 1850 there has been no particular que tion agitating the minds of the people in their elections, save the "Maine Law." In that year, June 2, the law was passed by a large majority of the Legislature, and received the signature of John Hubbard, then Governor of Maine. Hubbard gave his official and personal influ ence in favor of the law; and being of the emong the ignorant and miserable people of Africa; and instances have not been wanting where, by the most shameful breach of faith. Hunker stripe, and rather more inflexible re-specting the payment of debts of those who purchased the public timber than some other Administrations, it brought down the ire of sellers as well as the sold, (28.) That such horrid practices have been sanctioned by a civilized nation; that a nation ardent in the cause of liberty, and enjoying its blessings in certain men in the State, who, out of revenge, were determined he should not be elected Governor at the next election, for which he had been nominated by the Legislature according to the usages of the party. A convention was called at Portland accordingly, and another man nominated, and a repeal of the Maine Law made the rallying cry. A rum organ was started in Portland, to advocate the election of Chandler and repeal. Money by thou-sands was received from Massachusetts to accomplish the object. The rum organ was distributed like the leaves of the autumn. The important an occasion, tolerate a practice incompatible therewith, is such an evidence of the weakness and inconsistency of human nature as every man who hath a spark of patriotic fire in his bosom must wish to see removed from his own country. If ever there was a cause, if ever an occasion, in which all hearts should be united, every nerve strained, and every power exerted, surely the restoration of human nature to its unalienable right is such. Whatever obstacles, therefore, may hitherto have retarded the attempt, he that can appreciate the honor and happiness of his country will think it time that we should atthe same. Yet he lacked a few thousand of an election. He received 42 000 votes, while Chandler received but 22,000, and Crosby 29,000. While Hubbard failed of an election, the Legislature was two-thirds Maine Law. Hubbard and Crosby were presented to the Senate, according to the Constitution; and though the Senate was Whig, yet enough Maine Law Whigs voted for Hubbard to elect him, had it not been for one or two anti-Maine Law. In short, Slavery is an evil, except under pelacetion. (12.) Lib. 15, c. 1.
(13.) Black Com., 125. I should rather incline to think this definition of civil liberty more applicable to social liberty, for reasons mentioned in a note, page 145, vol. 1, of Blackstone's Commentaries.
(15.) The Constitution of Virginia, Art. 7, declares that the right of suffrage shall remain as then exercised. The act of 1723, c. 4, (Edi. 1733,) sec. 23, declared that no negro, mulatto, or Indian, shall have any vote at the election of burgesses, or any other election whatsoever. This act, it B presumed, was in force at the adoption of the Constitution. The act of 1785, c. 55, (Edi. of 1794, c. 17, also expressly excludes them from the right of suffrage.

Law Whigs voted for Hubbard to elect him, had it not been for one or two anti-Maine Law "Wild Cats," who voted for Crosby; and on this account Mr. Crosby is Governor.

The rum power, having defeated Gov. Hubbard, have been on the alert, making their plans and concocting their schemes for the nomination of a man for Governor after their own heart. According to the testimony of delegates to their State Convention, they accomplished their purpose. Such a convention probably never assembled; many became helplessly drunk upon the occasion. They sowed the wind, and, as the election will show, they have reaped the whirlwind. They put in nomination Albert Pillabury a man generally unknown.

thousand or more of an election. The House her lungs were very much affected, and we had and Senate will be two-thirds or three-fourths for the law. The Maine Law and Morrill Democrats will hold the balance of power, so that in all probability Pillsbury will not be presented to the Senate, and the election will ultimately fall upon Morrill or Crosby. And it is the opinion of many, and that opinion has foundation, that Anson P. Morrill will be the next Governor of Maine. There will be much

speculation respecting coming events.

The Pillsbury papers claim a majority of Representatives to be Democrats; this may be true, yet there are not more than 65 out of 151 Representatives who will be disposed to favor Pillsbury's election. Thus has the rum power been broken in this State forever. The Maine Law is triumphant! The vote of the Free Democracy will be near

9,000, and they will have ten or twelve Representatives and several Senators. The agitation of the temperance question will ultimately give great accessions to the party. MAINE.

INDIANA SLAVE CASE.

The case of John Freeman, of Indianapolis, in this State, appears to be arousing the prople, to some extent, to a sense of the utter justice of the Fugitive Slave Law, &c. The feeling is manifesting itself throughout the State. As a sample, I herewith send a copy of a preamble and resolutions adopted by a very large assembly, composed principally of Free Hunker Democrats present, who voted for its adoption. People of all parties and both sexes appear to be thoroughly disgusted with the conduct of John L. Robinson in the case. I hope Dr. B. will publish the preamble and resolutions. They should be seen publicly in Washington. We sent a copy to the President by to-day's mail. Respectfully, JOSEPH W. YOUNG.

Whereas the present State Marshal, John Robinson, as we are credibly informed, compelled John Freeman, a United States prisoner in his custody, to be divested of his clothing, in order that his accuser's witnesses might discover marks upon his body, for the purpose, as is confidently be leved, of affording basis for false testimony against said prisoner, thereby prostituting his high and responsible office to the detestable crime of kidnapping; therefore, Resolved, That this Association respectfully

but earnestly request the President of the Uni-ted States forthwith to remove the said John L. Robinson from the office of Marshal of the State of Indiana. Resolved, That a copy of the above preamble

and resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, also one to John L. Rob Extracted from the proceedings of the Free Democratic Association of Rush county, Ind.

held the 3d day of September, 1853. J. W. Young, President. JOHN H. FRAZEE, Secretary.

LEGARE ON SLAVERY

We have found among our papers the following eloquent and judicious remarks on Slavery in this country, in the handwriting of the gifted and lamented Legare, and lay them before our readers exactly as they are in the original.-Charleston Courier. SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

This is a great practical question, and needs to be treated by statesmen, and not by sophisters and fanatics.

It is not res integra, and it is not necessary

to discuss the justice or injustice, the fitness of unfitness, of the institution in the abstract. The true question is, What is to be the des tiny of this quarter of the world-what race is to inhabit and possess it? Shall it be given up (as to a great part of its surface) to barbarism-its inevitable fate under the dominion of the black race-or shall it continue to be possessed by the most improving, enterprising, active and energetic breed of men that have ces-by their English race, whose conques more extensive, whose power more gigantic, and whose government more perfect than that of Rome, designate it as the fitting instrument, in the hands of Providence, for the great work of building up a world—that English race, of which the original stock has made itself the wonder of mankind—a people entirely peculiar in combining whatever is most dazzling in opulence and power, with well-regulated liberty, and mild and equal administration of law—the most magnificent manifestations of the might and the grandeur of civilized life, that the world, in any age of it, has ever beheld. Look

at Hayti, and contrast it with New Holland!

Does any man, who looks into the political
character and effects of the cotton plant, doubt for a moment that Slavery in the South has been and is a great instrument of civilization? Would the miracles which the cotton trade has wrought, and is working, for the amelioration of the condition of mankind in Europe, ever existed, had the negro of the South bee emancipated in the Revolution? Would this country have been what it is?

The truth is, that civilization is more a ranced by physical causes than by moral ones I mean, supposing in both cases social order to be well established, and law administered The steam-engine is doing more for it than the standard of comfort, without which men are doomed forever to be but half savage.

The Roman conquests were attended with dreadful evils; millions of lives, it is said, were sacrificed by Casar in his Gallie wars, and so of all the rest. Does any one now doubt that, on the whole, the sword of Rome was a means of improvement to the whole race? that especially the spreading of Christianity was hast ened and facilitated by it? Would any philanthropist, who did not assume that name to make it odious, wish the history of the Roman

So of Greek art. Without doubt, it had never existed—never, at least, in such an extraordinary perfection, without the institution of Slavery. Suppose it were ascertained that, by establishing an English colony at the spot where Carthage once stood, at the end of some centuries our race and institutions would spread over the whole of that continent, hitherto held to be doomed to everlasting silence and desola-tion; though the great result spoken of could only be accomplished by exterminating, as the red men of this continent have been, or redu-cing to bondage under the white man, the ne-gro, who is now the slave of his brother negro and brother savage—would it be considered inconsistent with humanity to have, yea, and to oo operate in producing, a change so full of splendid improvement, so favorable to the dig-nity of human nature, and even to the beauty and glory of God's creation? Look at the state of South America and

compare it with the northern part of the Con

In short, Slavery is an evil, except under pe

culiar circumstances, generally speaking, cer tainly—and everything shows it here—but no such an evil as calls for violent, and still les destructive, measures to arrest it.

From the National Intelligencer. INHALATION IN CONSUMPTION.

Influenced by a sense of the duty I owe to mankind, I would respectfully request the in-sertion in your valuable paper of the following statement of my sister's illness and her recove-ry from consumption. During the fall of 1851, she was violently affected with cold, followed

no hope of her recovery. Such was her state at the close of February, with the symptoms increasing in violence, when she commenced inhaling "medicated vapors," under the direcinhaling "medicated vapors," under the direction of Dr. Hunter, and Dr. Wellesley, his as sistant. We had not long to wait for evidences of improvement. The cough soon became less severe, the matter was raised from the lungs in large quantities without much effort, the op-pression in breathing went off, hectic fever disappeared, her rest became comfortable, and her appetite and strength returned. In a

month she was out of danger, and in two perfectly restored to health. A year has since elapsed, and she continues free from all traces of disease. This happy result, we feel, was due entirely to the use of inhalation; and under this con-viction feel it to be our duty to proclaim it to

the world, and this I deem will be a sufficient excuse for asking for this letter a place in your widely-circulated paper. Your obedient ser-FREDERICK ANDREWS,

Dunbarton st., Georgetown Georgetown, D. C., April 25, 1853.

WEEKLY EVENING POST PROSPECTUS.

TO add to the interest and usefulness of the Evening Post, we have enlarged it by an addition of an to about four additional columns. The the Semi-Weekly editions were enlarged in only about three years ago. Four more this added now increases the sheet to double the size of the paper on which they were originally printed. In announcing this enlargement, which, we may be

permitted to say, is one of the results of the growing confidence of the commercial and industrial interests of the country in the course of the Evening Post, it is our duty to make our especial acknowledgements to those numerous friends, poth personal and political, who, through evil report and through good report, have cheered us with their generous countenance and given us annually recurring proofs of their esteem and attachment, uninfluenced by the fluctuations of party opinion or the smiles and frowns of men in power, which too often seduce or frighten men from the course their consequences anyway, the usual assection permitted to say, is one of the results of the growing or, which too noted sounces approve—the manly assertion of truth and the steady resistance of error. We take fresh courage from our success thus far, and from their friendly co operation, to persovere in the path which we have deliberately chosen, and they have as deliberately chosen, and they have as deliberately chosen, and they have as deliberately chosen.

erately approved.

We avail ourselves of this occasion to congratulate our readers upon the arrangement which we have been so fortunate as to make with Colonel Benton for the publication of a series of articles from his "Thirty Years in the United States Senate." which will be continued through the year and until the work shall be published, some time in 1854.

We are also in negotiation for a series of private papers and reminiscences of another eminent democratic statesman, which we hope to bring out in the convex of a few weeks.

course of a few weeks.

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Persons who sent in their subscriptions before the callargement will receive the paper at the old rate for the year. New subscribers sending us one dollar will receive the paper for six months.

Money may be remitted for subscriptions in letters at our risk; but the postmaster at the place where the letter is mailed should be made acquainted with its contents, and keep a description of the bills.

Bills of any specie-paying bank in the United States or Canadas received at par for subscriptions.

We have no travelling agents. Any one wishing to receive the Evening Post need not wait to be called on for his subscription. All that is necessary for him to do is to write a letter in as few words as possible, enclose the money, and write the name of the subscriber, with the postoffice, county, and State, and direct the letter to WILLIAM C. BRYANT & CO.,

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Persons residing at points where mails arrive often er than once a week are requested to examine the Semi-Weekly. We regard it as the cheapest political newspaper published in the United States.

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Matter intended for the paper should be write

AND PRACTICE.

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The following is an extract of a letter from He The following is an extract of a letter from Hon-William Jay to the author:

"Your analysis of the slave laws is very able, and your exhibition of their practical application by the Southern courts evinces great and careful research. Your book is as impregnable against the charge of exaggeration as Euclid's Geometry, since, like that it consists of propositions and demonstrations. The book is not only true, but it is unquestionably true."

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their character, extremely popular, and comman large sales wherever they are offered. For further particulars, address, postage paid, LEARY & GETZ, 138 North Second st., Aug. 11-THE JUVENILE INSCRUCTOR-VOL. IX.

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LUCIUS C. MATLACK, Editor and Publisher, June 23. 60 South Salina st. Syracuse. N. Y. June 23. 60 South Salina st., Syracuse, N.

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June 16.

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The above work is a delineation of the scenes and incidents connected with the imprisonment, in 1852 of Manuel Pereira, steward of the British brig Janson, in the jail of Charleston, S. C.

The following notice of this work is copied from the National Era of February 17:

"The above is the title of a work now in press, founded upon that infamous statute of South Carolina by which her citizens claim a right to imprison colored seamen, of all nations, and even those cast upon their shores in distress. We have perused the book in advance of its publication, and find that it gives a life-like picture of Pereira, the vessel in which he sailed, the storms she encountered, and her wrecked condition when brought into the port of Charleston, S. C.; together with the imprisonment of Pereira, several seamen belonging to the New England States, and two French scamen; the prison regimen, character of the Charleston police, and the mendacity of certain officials, who make the law a medium of peculation. The work is replete with incidents of Southern life and character, pointing Southerners to the things that call for correction at their own hands, with a force that cannot be mistaken. The work is written by one who has taken a prominent part in the affairs of the South, and cannot fail to interest alike the general reader, commercial man, and philanthropist."

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July 7.

PRACTICES in the Courts of the District of Co-lumbia, and before the Departments of the Gov-erament. Office over Banking House of Selden, With orr, & Co.